

Message Text

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S E C R E T KINSHASA 10563

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CG, XA, MASS

SUBJECT: GAO DRAFT REPORT ON US MILITARY SALES IN AFRICA

REF: A) STATE 250464; B) KINSHASA 10346; C) STATE 262490

1. MISSION STILL IS AWAITING ARRIVAL OF POUCHED GAO DRAFT REPORT (PARA 1, REF B).

2. GENERAL COMMENTS CONTAINED PARA 2, REF C, CORRESPOND CLOSELY WITH MISSION'S JUDGMENT. OUR SUPPLEMENTARY COMMENTS FOLLOW:

A. MAJOR WEAPONS CASE. THERE IS NO MAJOR WEAPONS CASE EXISTING OR ANTICIPATED FOR ZAIRE WHICH REQUIRES A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ANCILLARY WEAPONS, AMMUNITION AND PERSONNEL SUPPORT. CURRENT AND ANTICIPATED SALES FOR ZAIRE WILL BE RESTRICTED LARGELY TO TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND INFRASTRUCTURE ITEMS AND WILL BE HANDLED ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS.

B. ADVISING APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS. MISSION POLICY IS TO BE OPEN AND FRANK WITH VISITING CODELS AND STAFF MEMBERS. STAFF OF SENATOR CLARK'S SUBCOMMITTEE (8-11 DEC 76) AND STAFFDEL BRYEN /KRAFT WERE GIVEN DETAILED BRIEFINGS BY KEY MISSION PERSONNEL (INCLUDING THE AMBASSADOR) AND DDN STAFF (INCLUDING GENERAL BABIA). BRIEFING ON ROCKWELL REPORT WAS LIMITED TO
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PLANNED, RPT PLANNED, PURCHASES DURING FY 77 FOR DEFENSE OF SHABA AREA. THESE PURCHASES WERE STILL IN THE PLANNING PHASE, AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SHABA CAUSED GOZ TO ALTER PRIORITIES AND PURCHASES. IN ADDITION, STAFFDEL OF SENATOR CLARK'S SUBCOMMITTEE WAS GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT KEY INSTALLATIONS IN BAS EIRE AND SHABA IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF FAZ TRAINING FACILITIES.

C. EQUIPMENT AND AMMUNITION THAT CAN BE USED WITH FOREIGN-MADE MILITARY ITEMS. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS THERE IS LITTLE INTER-CANGEABILITY OF US MANUFACTURED AND FOREIGN EQUIPMENT IN ZAIRE. A LIMITED NUMBER OF US-MANUFACTURED SMALL ARMS HAVE BEEN SOLD TO ZAIRE AND COULD POSSIBLY UTILIZE FOREIGN AMMUNITION. HOWEVER, THE FOREIGN MADE AMMO MAY POSSESS A DIFFERENT LOAD COMPOSITION OR VARY IN PHYSICAL DIMENSIONS, THUS MAKING IT INCOMPATIBLE FOR USE WITH US WEAPONS.

D. ROCKWELL REPORT. ROCKWELL TEAM WAS A MILITARY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TEAM (MTAT), NOT A SURVEY TEAM. THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE WAS INTENTIONAL AND CONNOTED THE LIMITED TECHNICAL ADVISORY ROLE OF THE TEAM. OPERATING UNDER RIGID TERMS OF REFERENCE THE MTAT QUOTE

1) COULD SAY OR DO NOTHING THAT WOULD INDICATE USG WILLINGNESS TO INCREASE US MILITARY ASSITANCE TO ZAIRE. 2) THE TEAM WOULD NOT OBLIGATE USG ON SALE OF SPECIFIC ITEMS OR SERVICE. END QUOTE.

E. HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS. IN JULY 1977 PRESIDENT MOBUTU LAUNCHED A PROGRAM OF LIBERALIZATION WHICH MANY ZAIROIS VIEW AS A RESPONSE TO WESTERN CONCERN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS IN ZAIRE. ELECTIONS HAVE NOW BEEN HELD FOR BOROUGH COUNCILS, NATION LEGISLATURE AND POLITICAL BUREAU. MISSION IS IN PROCESS OF ANALYZING THESE ELECTIONS, AND THERE WILL REPORTEDLY BE A PRESIDENTIAL SECRET

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ELECTION OR PLEBISCITE IN LATE NOVEMBER 1977. A KEY FACTOR IN DETERMINING THE DEGREE OF POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION ACHIEVED WILL BE THE EXTENT TO WHICH RENEWED POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE ALLOWED TO PLAY A MEANINGFUL ROLE IN ZAIRE.

F. FMS EFFECT ON ZAIRE DEBT BURDEN. BUDGETED MILITARY SPENDING, INCLUDING DEBT SERVICE, AMOUNTED TO ONLY ABOUT 14 PER CENT OF THE GOZ BUDGET IN 1977. PRIOR TO RESCHEDULING, FMS DEBT SERVICE OBLIGATIONS WERE ONLY 3 1/2 PER CENT OF TOTAL DEBT SERVICE (DOLS 17.2 MILLION) AND AT THE CURRENT RATE OF INCREASE WILL RISE TO AROUND DOLS 49.4 IN 1982. THIS LAST AMOUNT REPRESENTS SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 1 AND 1 2/3 PER CENT OF ANTICIPATED EXPORT EARNINGS IN 1982, AS COMPARED WITH A CURRENT 1 PER CENT FIGURE FOR FMS DEBT.

ALTHOUGH ZAIRE'S DEBT BURDEN IS HEAVY, IT IS NOT YET INSUPPORTABLE. HOWEVER, THE STRUCTURE OF THE DEBT (MUCH IS SHORT TERM) WILL CAUSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS. AS NOTED ABOVE, THE PERCENTAGE OF ZAIRE'S EXPORT EARNINGS DEVOTED TO SERVICE OF FMS DEBT IS SMALL AND NOT EXPECTED TO GROW APPRECIABLY OVER THE NEXT 5 YEARS. IMF LIMITS ON OTHER SHORT AND MEDIUM-TERM BORROWING, WHICH HAVE BEEN RESPECTED, HAVE

SERVED TO FURTHER CONSTRAIN GROWTH OF ZAIRE'S FUTURE DEBT SERVICE REQUIREMENTS. THERE IS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE GOX WILL NOT HAVE THE CAPACITY TO REPAY FMS LOANS OVER THE LONG TERM, ALTHOUGH IT IS PROBABLE THAT OVERALL DEBT RESCHEDULING WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS.

WHILE THE COMPLETE FORGIVENESS OF THE TOTAL COST OF AN FMS PACKAGE INVOLVED IN OUTRIGHT GRANT AID DOES NOT SEEM TO BE NECESSARY AT THIS TIME, USE OF A "WAIVER OF LIABILITY" SIMILAR TO THAT GIVEN ISRAEL WOULD BE ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH CURENT USG POLICY REGARDING ZAIRE'S DEBT. IT WOULD ALLOW FORGIVENESS OF THE AMOUNT FALLING DUE IN A YEAR WHEN, FOR EXAMPLE, DEBT RESCHEDULING HAS BEEN SHOWN TO BE NECESSARY, WITHOUT SEEMING TO REWARD THE GOZ FOR PREVIOUS DEBT MISMANAGEMENT. THIS PROVIDES
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A DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY AS PAYMENTS DUE IN FUTURE YEARS WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED AND IT COULD PROVIDE ONE MORE TOOL TO USE IN SUPPORTING THE AIMS OF THE IMF STABILIZATION PROGRAM AND THE PARIS CLUB.
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